

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PFOR, MASS, XG

SUBJECT:DEPARTMENTAL STUDY OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS SUPPLY
RESTRAINTS

1. IN RESPONSE TO INCREASING CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN,
DEPARTMENT HAS BEGUN IN-HOUSE STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS AND
PROSPECTS FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER LIMITATION.
SECRETARY RECEIVED IDENTICAL LETTERS DATED OCTOBER 30,
1975 FROM SENATOR CULVER (D. IOWA) AND REPRESENTATIVE
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SEIBERLING (D. OHIO), COSIGNED BY 27 SENATORS AND 68

REPRESENTATIVES, OUTLINING THEIR CONCERNS OVER ARMS TRANSFER. CULVER/SEIBERLING LETTER PROPOSED US INITIATIVE TO CONVENE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MAJOR ARMS SUPPLIERS TO DISCUSS GUIDELINES FOR ARMS SALES. IN HIS RESPONSE NOVEMBER 28, SECRETARY NOTED THAT PROBLEM INVOLVED BOTH SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS, AND WAS ENORMOUSLY COMPLEX GIVEN ATTITUDES OF BOTH. RESPONSE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT DEPARTMENT WOULD CONDUCT STUDY OF POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS ON THE TRAFFIC IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS. STUDY IS NOW IN ITS PRELIMINARY STAGE AND IS BEING ORGANIZED ON A REGION-BY-REGION BASIS. FOR MOST REGIONS, STUDY WILL FOCUS ON RECIPIENT ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES. FOR WEST EUROPEAN REGION, FOCUS WOULD BE ON NATIONAL ROLES AND ATTITUDES AS SUPPLIERS.

2. FOR ALL ADDRESSEES: PARA 5 CONTAINS A TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF QUESTIONS WE WOULD HOPE TO COVER IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL STUDY. WITHOUT RPT WITHOUT APPROACHING HOST GOVERNMENTS, DEPARTMENT WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ADDRESSEE COMMENTS ON HOST COUNTRY ARMS TRANSFER PRACTICES AND POLICIES, KEYED WHERE APPROPRIATE TO RELEVANT SECTION OF OUTLINE (ESPECIALLY OUTLINE ITEMS 3 THROUGH 8). STATISTICS ON THE MAGNITUDE OF CURRENT ARMS TRANSFERS ARE GENERALLY AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON. WE WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED, THEREFORE, IN ADDRESSEE ASSESSMENT OF HOST GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL REACTION TO ANY INITIATIVE AIMED AT RESTRAINING CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS. WE NEED AN UP-TO-DATE READING ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE WHICH HOST GOVERNMENTS ATTACH TO ARMS SALES. AND, IF THE QUESTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION WERE TO BE RAISED WITH THEM WOULD THERE BE SOME APPROACHES OR FORMS OF TRANSFER RESTRAINTS WHICH WOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN OTHERS? ALSO, HOW DO ADDRESSEES BELIEVE HOST GOVERNMENTS WOULD REACT TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS ON ISSUE? OR WOULD THEY PREFER SOME OTHER ARRANGEMENT?

3. FOR USNATO: IN ADDITION TO ANY COMMENTS MISSION MAY WISH TO SUBMIT ON ATTITUDES OF INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN STATES ON ARMS SUPPLY QUESTION, MISSION IS REQUESTED TO COMMENT

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ON USEFULNESS OF NATO FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION OF TOPIC. CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST ON ARMS TRANSFER HAS SPECIFICALLY PROPOSED CONSULTATION WITH NATO, AND DEPARTMENT IS CONSIDERING PROS AND CONS OF SUCH AN APPROACH, AND VARIOUS MODALITIES IF IT WERE TO BE TRIED.

4. FOR BONN: IN VIEW OF YOUR RECENT ARMS SALES REPORTING, EMBASSY MAY WISH TO CONCENTRATE ON THOSE ASPECTS OF DRAFT

OUTLINE NOT YET COVERED, AS WELL AS SPECIFIC ARMS TRANSFER QUESTION.

5. OUTLINE - EUROPEAN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS.

I. INTRODUCTION - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

II. MAGNITUDE OF CURRENT TRANSFERS.

--- GENERAL DESCRIPTION - IMPORTANCE OF ARMS INDUSTRY

--- TO WHOM, FROM WHOM

--- CATEGORIES - SALES, GRANTS, OTHER

--- EUROPEAN PATTERN VIS-A-VIS OTHER SUPPLIERS
(COMMUNIST, US, ETC.)

III. INCENTIVES FOR EUROPEAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO THIRD WORLD.

--- FOREIGN POLICY INFLUENCE

--- BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

--- EMPLOYMENT

--- RELATION TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS

--- OTHER

IV. CURRENT PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL ATTITUDES

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--- POPULAR/MORAL ATTITUDES

--- MEDIA ATTITUDES

V. INTRA-EUROPEAN CONCERNS.

--- CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENTS

--- RIVALRIES IN RECIPIENT AREAS

--- STANDARDIZATION

--- FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION

VI. ALLIED RECEPTIVITY TO POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS.

--- COUNTRY BY COUNTRY -- CURRENT NATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

--- DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ALLIES

VII. POSSIBLE FORA FOR DISCUSSION.

--- BILATERAL

--- MULTILATERAL WITH PREDETERMINED INVITEES

--- NATO

--- PAN-EUROPEAN

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--- WORLD SUPPLIERS

--- WORLD SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS

VIII. TYPES OF POTENTIAL GUIDELINES.

--- REGIONAL OR GLOBAL

--- SPECIFIC SYSTEM BANS

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--- INFORMAL CARTELIZATION

--- PERCENTAGE CUTS

--- FINANCIAL CEILINGS

--- OTHER

6. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ADDRESSEE
COMMENTS BY JANUARY 16.

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